

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 080

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

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USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

CINCLANT

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 0781

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, MNUC

SUBJECT: POLITICAL VIEWS ON NUCLEAR ASPECTS OF NUNN AMENDMENT

REF: USNATO 0741

MISSION PROVIDES BELOW TEXT OF IS DRAFT OF UNCLASSIFIED LETTER FROM SYG LUNS TO SECRETARY SCHLESINGER ON SUBJECT ASSESSMENT. IS CIRCULATED DRAFT FOR COMMENT PER REFTEL, PARA 11. WE UNDERSTAND THAT AD HOC GROUP OF REPS FROM NATIONAL DELEGATIONS WILL MEET WITH IS PRIOR TO REBRUARY 20 PERMREP MEETING TO ASSIST IN PREPARING DRAFT POLITICAL ASSESSMENT ONLY IF NATIONAL COMMENTS PROVIDED TO IS MAKE IT NECESSARY. ACTION REQUESTED: WASHINGTON GUIDANCE ON CONTENT OF DRAFT LETTER PRIOR TO COB ON FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 14.

BEGIN TEXT:

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IN YOUR LETTER OF 5TH NOVEMBER YOU ASKED ME TO SET IN HAND AN ASSESSMENT OF THE EFFECT ON THE ALLIANCE OF CERTAIN CHANGES IN THE UNITED STATES NUCLEAR WEAPONS DEPLOYMENT POSTURE PRESENTLY UNDER CONSIDERATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RE-EVALUATION

CALLED FOR BY THE 1975 MILITARY PROCUREMENT AUTHORISATION ACT ("THE NUNN AMENDMENT"). YOU ASKED FOR OUR POLITICAL AS WELL AS MILITARY VIEWS.

THESE ASSESSMENTS HAVE NOW BEEN MADE, AND HAVE BEEN REVIEWED IN THE NUCLEAR PLANNING GROUP, WHICH IS THE MOST APPROPRIATE CONSULTATIVE FORUM FOR THIS PURPOSE. YOU HAVE SEEN SACEUR'S REPORT ON THE SUBJECT, AND ALSO THE AGREED VIEWS OF THE MILITARY REPRESENTATIVES. THESE IN TURN HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED BY THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF A PAPER, WHICH IS ALSO AVAILABLE TO YOU, WHICH SETS OUT SOME OF THE POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS INVOLVED. ALL THESE DOCUMENTS ARE, OF COURSE, CLASSIFIED. I BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT IT IS POSSIBLE FOR REFLECT THE CONSENSUS OF VIEWS IN THE ALLIANCE IN A FORM SUITABLE FOR PUBLIC USE, AS FOLLOWS:-

1. THE ALLIES RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANT ROLE WHICH TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS PLAY IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NATO STRATEGY OF DETERRENCE AND DEFENCE. THEY UNDERSTAND THAT THE CURRENT RE-EVALUATION OF THE UNITED STATES NUCLEAR WEAPONS POSTURE IN EUROPE IS NOT AIMED MERELY AT A REDUCTION IN NUMBERS OF WARHEADS OR WEAPONS SYSTEMS FOR ECONOMIC OR OTHER REASONS, NOR TO REDUCE THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES IN THE NATO TRIAD . THEY ENTIRELY SHARE THE DESIRE OF THE UNITED STATES TO IMPROVE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THIS TACTICAL NUCLEAR CAPABILITY, TO IMPROVE THE PHYSICAL SAFETY OF UNITED STATES NUCLEAR WEAPONS SYSTEMS AND TO REDUCE THEIR VULNERABILITY. THEY ARE ANXIOUS TO EXAMINE ON THEIR MERITS ANY CHANGES WHICH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PROPOSES.

2. THE ALLIES AGREE THAT IN THE INTERESTS OF MAINTAINING A STRONG DETERRENT, MODERNISATION OF THE PRESENT STOCKPILE OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS IS DESIRABLE. THEY AGREE THAT THERE IS A PRIMA FACIE CASE FOR BELIEVING THAT ON OPERATIONAL GROUNDS, THE INTRODUCTION OF MORE CONFIDENTIAL

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EFFECTIVE WEASPONS WOULD JUSTIFY A REDUCTION IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF UNITED STATES WARHEADS AND WEAPON SYSTEMS AT PRESENT DEPLOYED IN EUROPE. THEY CONSIDER NEVERTHELESS THAT ANY CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF THE PRESENT STOCKPILE SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN ONLY AFTER THE MOST CAREFUL ANALYSIS OF THEIR MILITARY AND POLITICAL EFFECTS, AND IN THE CLOSEST CONSULTATION WITH THE NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES AND THE ALLIED NATIONS.

3. THEY WOULD DRAW ATTENTION IN PARTICULAR TO CERTAIN POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS OF A POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL NATURE WHICH MUST BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN ANY MODIFICATION TO THE STOCKPILE INVOLVING SIGNIFICANT

REDUCTIONS IN NUMBERS OF WARHEADS OR WEAPONS SYSTEMS, E.G. THE DANGER THAT SUCH REDUCTIONS MIGHT BE INTERPRETED AS A WEAKENING OF THE NUCLEAR LEG OF THE NATO TRIAD, AS A LESSENING OF THE UNITED STATES COMMITMENT TO EUROPEAN DEFENCE, OR AN APPARENT REDUCTION IN EXTENT TO WHICH EUROPEAN NATIONS THEMSELVES ARE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PROVISION OF A TACTICAL NUCLEAR CAPABILITY IN SUPPORT OF ACE. THESE ARE MATTERS MORE OF PERCEPTION THAN REALITY. NEVERTHELESS THEY ARE CRITICAL TO THE SOLIDARITY OF THE ALLIANCE AND TO MAINTENANCE OF THE DETERRENT. THE NEED TO PRESERVE BOTH IS OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE.

4. ANY PROPOSED ADJUSTMENTS MUST BE CONSIDERED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS NOW PROCEEDING IN VIENNA. WHILE THE OTHER SIDE HAS CONSISTENTLY SOUGHT TO INCLUDE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS, THE ALLIED POSITION IS THAT THEY SHOULD BE EXCLUDED. ANY CHANGES IN THE NUCLEAR STOCKPILE MUST NOT PREJUDICE THE OFTEN STATED PRINCIPLE THAT NATO FORCE IN THE REDUCTION AREA SHOULD NOT BE REDUCED EXCEPT IN THE CONTEXT OF AN AGREEMENT WITH THE EAST, AND THEY SHOULD CONFORM WITH THE ALLIED OBJECTIVES OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR BOTH SIDES AT LOWER LEVELS OF FORCES.

5. THE ALLIES ARE CONFIDENT NEVERTHELESS THAT THIS APPARENT DILEMMA BETWEEN THE OPERATIONAL DESIRABILITY OF CHANGES IN THE PRESENT STOCKPILE OF UNITED STATES NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE AND THE POSSIBILITY OF POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL CONFIDENTIAL

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REPERCUSSIONS CAN BE SATISFACTORILY RESOLVED (IN THE TERMS OF THE NUNN AMENDMENT) BY "THE DEVELOPMENT OF A RATIONAL AND CO-ORDINATED NUCLEAR POSTURE WITHIN THE ALLIANCE THAT IS ALSO CONSISTENT WITH PROPER EMPHASIS ON CONVENTIONAL DEFENCE FORCES". THE ALLIES WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO THINK THROUGH ONCE AGAIN THE ROLE WHICH TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS PLAY IN NATO STRATEGY IN THE LIGHT OF THE INCREASED EFFECTIVENESS OFFERED BY MODERN WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY. THEY ARE GRATEFUL FOR THE WILLINGNESS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH THEM ON AN ISSUE WHICH SO CLOSELY CONCERNS THE SECURITY OF ALL. THEY ARE CONFIDENT THAT ANY CHANGES IN THE UNITED STATES NUCLEAR POSTURE RESULTING FROM THIS PROCESS WILL BE READILY ACCEPTED AND UNDERSTOOD BY THE NATIONS OF THE ALLIANCE.

6. THE ALLIES THEREFORE HOPE THAT THE STUDIES COMMISSIONED BY THE NUNN AMENDMENT WILL BE CARRIED FORWARD IN THE LIGHT OF THE VIEWS EXPRESSED ABOVE. AND IN THE CLOSEST CONSULTATION WITH THE ALLIANCE. FOR THEIR PART THEY PLEDGE THEIR FULL SUPPORT FOR AND CO-OPERATION WITH THE STUDY.

7. THE ABOVE REPRESENTS THE VIEWS OF THOSE NATIONS CURRENTLY PARTICIPATING IN NATO NUCLEAR PLANNING GROUP ACTIVITIES.

THIS FORUM WILL CONTINUE TO BE USED FOR ALLIED CONSULTATION ON THE FURTHER PHASES OF THIS STUDY. I AM TAKING STEPS, HOWEVER, TO ENSURE THAT THE VIEWS OF OTHER ALLIED NATIONS WHICH TAKE PART IN THE INTEGRATED MILITARY PLANNING PROCESSES OF NATO, BUT ARE NOT PARTICIPATING IN THE NUCLEAR PLANNING GROUP AFFAIRS, ARE ALSO TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.

END TEXT

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